1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

SOCIAL CULTURE

THE second major division of Kaska culture to be described, is derived from those ideas and activities which reflect the individual's adjustment to other individuals. In many situations such adjustment is essential for the execution of adaptive behaviors but it also represents the solution of additional problems arising out of interpersonal relations. Social culture has been divided into three subdivisions: interpersonal organization, ranging from the family to local groups; interpersonal relations in the larger society, including property, governmental, legal, sexual, and other relations between individuals; and those interpersonal relations entering into the lifecycle.

ORGANIZATION

Family

The nuclear family in Kaska society consists of a married couple and their true or adopted children. Such a group is sometimes augmented by the presence of additional relatives, as for example, an aged or widowed grandparent, an orphaned grandchild, or the orphaned children of a mother's sister or father's brother. A family may also contain temporarily the unmarried siblings of either spouse. The Kaska family corresponds closely to the settlement described above in which the group occupies a single residence. If more than one family live in a settlement, they usually occupy separate dwellings.

Authority in the family is ideally invested in the husband, although actually the wife is consulted in all important considerations and may also originate action by influencing her husband's decisions. The authority of the husband is maintained even if the family happens to contain a grandparent. Although under conditions of matrilocal residence, a father may offer advice to his son-in-law, such advice is not given in an authoritative fashion and, once the marriage is established, does not dispute the authority of the husband. The importance of the father is also reflected in the fact that, despite the system of matrilineal moieties, family names follow the patrilineal line.

Functionally the family is of great importance, constituting the primary economic unit of the society. It is able to provide its own capital goods and to exploit the environment in order to secure necessary consumer goods. Cooperation tends to be restricted to the family, but even here it cannot be demanded except from a young, unmarried son or daughter. A young married couple will generally trap together, but once children are born, the man will look to others for trapline companionship and assistance. Helpers secured in this way enter what may be described as a *protégé* relationship. That is, the partner is often a related or unrelated youth who is taught the art of trapping, freely loaned traps, and extended the privilege of using the trapping territory. Such a partnership is founded primarily on congeniality and is readily dissolved. Sometimes a family takes along a mature girl or young widow. The girl helps the wife in household duties, but may also trap, using resources which are loaned her by the family with whom she resides. "They live on you. They get no money and live on you, helping till they get husband."

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tern requiring long isolation in the bush under crowded status, which because of the private phrasing of sexual matters, are relatively unsuitable for the union of men and women. Therefore we see a higher rate of conception occurring in summer, after the total community has assembled and when climate facilitates finding privacy.[18]

Kaska parents rationalize their desire for children principally in terms of the child's potential economic contribution to family cooperation. Children are wanted because it is expected that they will grow up to staffs upon which parents will find support. This ideal expectation of a child's eventual role is, as we have already indicated, generally doomed to disappointment. Although adolescents make important contributions to family economy, they do not, as adults, provide sources of gratification on which the tired, old, or sick parents may rely with any assurance. The rationalized desire for children, therefore, turns out to be a weak one and it is to be expected that people with the empirical ability of the Kaska should have learned how little they can depend on grown offspring. Assuming that social awareness of the child's increasing disregard of parental wellbeing exists, we find, as a result, an absence of any extraordinarily compelling economic or social motives for reproduction, which in turn is compatible with the desire of some young women to limit their fertility. Contraception, in other words, denies the adult society of no important potential rewards or obligations and hence meets with no disapproval. Other unconscious attitudes associated with the desire to avoid pregnancy, related to the female pattern of masculine striving outlined in connection with the status of women, will be further explored in the following division of this report. It may also be noted that the native theory of procreation, which derives the offspring from a double mixture of blood, the father's and mother's, and thus implicitly notices the male's role in forming the embryo and fetus, is compatible with the manifest bilateral emphasis of family life in which neither parent is singled out as most important. Such bilaterality is more manifested in Kaska society than the fiction of matrilineal descent.[19]

Finally, attention may be directed to the relationship of the Kaska's blocked emotionality, as revealed in behavior in the Rorschach situation, and the atomistic social structure of the society in which interpersonal adjustment is typically sought by what has been described as an avoidance of social interaction. Significant in this regard is the contrast between the normally unexpressive life of the Indian and the explosive outbursts that sometimes occur with intoxication and in mental disease. It seems likely that the latter phenomena follow an involuntary release of strong inhibitory mechanisms. In this discussion of emotion we are already approaching the sphere of Kaska ethos, to which we will now give extended attention.

[18] We are reminded of Mumford's picture of medieval Europe with the awakening of sex coming in spring. "... the late medieval astrological calendars, which depict this awakening, show the lovers having intercourse in the open with their clothes on. ... For lovers in the medieval house the winter months must have been a large wet blanket." Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (1938), 40.

[19] According to Richards: "By dogma of descent I mean ... those theories of procreation which express a people's beliefs as to the physical contribution of the father and mother to the formation of the child." Citing the attention which Malinowski and Ramsay in their field work had previously paid to this theory, she points out that a society's dogma of descent often correlates with social structure. Richards, *The Political System of the Bemba Tribe—North-Eastern Rhodesia* (1940), 96; see also Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Gestation, as the Azande See Them* (1932), 409; Ford, *A Comparative Study of Human Reproduction* (1945), 44.

591 generally they lived with the bridegroom's people and only visited the friends of the bride.

Whether the husband stayed chiefly with his wife's people or his own did not matter, for during his [430] life time he was under obligation to give presents of food or other things to his wife's parents from time to time, and this was always expected of him. The wife was considered the property of her husband and his people, but this did not mean that others of his male relatives or phratry had any rights of intercourse with her, at least during her husband's life-time. Their [611] children, if they had any, belonged by right to the wife's people, being by descent members of their mother's phratry.

768 In case of death of their father or mother the children, if young, were taken in charge by their mo- [587] ther's people. It seems this was more particularly the case if the mother died and the father did not marry his 582 deceased wife's sister. Marriages between members of different clans and bands were encouraged because of the advantage of thus securing the right of hunting in different grounds.

Early marriages were believed in and most girls were married soon after they had finished their training at puberty. It is stated there were even some cases where girls were married before they were mature or had become pubescent.